

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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USIA-15 SAM-01 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04

AEC-11 OMB-01 DRC-01 /166 W
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R 091048Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1549

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 1143

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: ROMANIAN REP CALL ON US REP AND
DEPREP, FEBRUARY 8, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN A CALL AT HIS REQUEST ON US REP FEBRUARY 8,
ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR ANINOIU EXPRESSED HIS DELEGATIONS, STRONG
OBJECTIONS TO INFORMAL GATHERINGS OF TYPE BETWEEN ALLIED AND
WARSAW PACT REPS ON FEBRUARY 6 (VIENNA 1076, NOTAL). ANINOIU
COMPLAINED THAT THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF SUCH GATHERINGS IF
THEY CONTINUED WOULD BE TO EXCLUDE ROMANIA FROM FULL PARTICIPATION
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE PROPOSED ESTABLISHING OPEN-ENDED WORKING
GROUPS INSTEAD OF INFORMAL GATHERINGS. US REP DENIED ANY INTENT

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TO EXCLUDE OR OTHERWISE HARM ROMANIAN PARTICIPATION, BRIEFED

ANINOIU ON CONTENT OF FIRST OF INFORMAL GATHERINGS HELD FEBRUARY 6, AND OFFERED TO KEEP ANINOIU FULLY INFORMED OF DISCUSSIONS HELD AT FUTURE GATHERINGS. ANINOIU SAID HE WAS NOT FULLY SATISFIED WITH US EXPLANATION AND CONCERNED ABOUT SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. AT HIS REQUEST ROMANINA REP DUMITRU ANINOIU CALLED FEBRUARY 8 ON US REP. US DEPREP RECEIVED ANINOIU IN TEMPORARY ABSENCE OF US REP WHO RETURNED MIDWAY IN CONVERSATION. AT OUTSET, ANINOIU REPORTED SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAD MET AS A GROUP FEBRUARY 7 AND HEARD A REPORT BY SOVIET REP KHLESTOV OF DINNER HELD FEBRUARY 6 AT WHICH US REP AHD PRESENTED ALLIED VIEWS ON REACHING A LIMITED PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING ON FUTURE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS. ALTHOUGH ANINOIU HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT AT THIS PACT MEETING, HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED A FULL REPORT ON THE FEBRUARY 6 GATHERING AND WAS MUCH CONCERNED BOTH AT THE FACT THAT THE DINNER HAD BEEN HELD AT ALL AND AT THE CONTENT AND NATURE OF THE DISCUSSION DURING THE DINNER. US DEPREP STRESSED THAT THE DINNER WAS MERELY AN INFORMAL SOCIAL GATHERING AND HAD NO OTHER OFFICIAL STATUS. DURING THE DINNER ALLIES HAD PRESENTED SOME INFORMAL SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE EAST.

3. US DEPREP OFFERED TO PRESENT THE SAME POINTS TO ANINOIU OR ANY OTHER EREPS WHO WERE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING THEM AND IMMEDIATELY PROCEEDED TO REVIEW THEM IN DETAIL, STRESSING THE INFORMAL AND ORAL NATURE OF THE PROPOSED PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENT, WHICH WAS NOTHEIN MORE THAN AN EFFORT TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE EAST AND WEST. HE HOPED SUCH GROUND COULD BE FOUND IN THE FACT THAT BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN PORPOSALS CONTAINED REFERENCES TO REDUCTION OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. HE STRESSED THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD FORFEIT ANYTHING BY AGREEING TO SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT AND REMAINED FREE TO WITHDRAW AT ANY TIME.

4. ANINOIU ASKED IF THE US CONSIDERED ITSELF THE PARENT OF THE PROPOSAL. US DEPREP SAID THE SGGESTION HAD BEEN THOROUGHLY DEVELOPED BY THE ALLIES AND REPRESENTED A JOINT PROPOSAL.

5. ANINOIU ASKED WHAT THE REASONS WERE BEHIND SUCH A PROPOSAL. US DEPREP HOPED THAT THE REASONS WERE EVIDENT, THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

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THERE WERE A LARGE NUMBER OF VERY COMPLEX QUESTIONS AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND SOME POINT IN THEM ON WHICH TO START SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

6. ANINOIU STATED THAT THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF PLENARIES PROVIDED A PROPER AND ADEQUATE FRAMEWORK FOR DEVELOPING SUCH A STARTING POINT; THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WANTED TO REACH AGREEMENT; THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO REVISE THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK

WITH A SYSTM OF INSTITUTIONALIZED AND LIMITED SOCIAL GATHERINGS.
COMMENT: ANINOIU CONTINUALLY SPOKE OF ALLIED PROPOSAL AS ONE
AIMED AT ESTABLISHING SERIES OF INFORMAL GATHERINGS RATHER
THAN AS ONE DESIGNED TO GET TO GRIPS WITH THE SUBJECT MATTER
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH HE ALSO REJECTED LATTER POINT.
IN SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT KHLESTOV SO PRESENTED THE ALLIED
PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL IN HIS REPORT TO AD HOC GROUP. END COMMENT.

7. US DEPREP STATED BELIEF THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WERE INTERESTED
FINDING COMMON GROUND, AND SAID THAT IT WAS OF NO CONSEQUENCE
THAT THE SUGGESTION WAS RAISED AT A CHANCE SOCIAL GATHERING
RATHER THAN IN A PLENARY. IT SHOULD BE JUDGED ON ITS MERITS.

8. ANINOIU OBJECTED THAT FEBRUARY 6 DINNER HAD NOT BEEN HELD
BY CHANCE.

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R 091048Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1550

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

USMISSION NATO

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

9. US DEPREP AGREED THAT GUESTS HAD BEEN INVITED IN ORDER TO HAVE INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS PRACTICE WAS CUSTOMARY IN INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS.

10. ANINOIU OBJECTED THAT THE US APPARENTLY HAD NO FAITH IN THE ACCEPTED FRAMEWORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND USUAL SOCIAL CONTACTS, POINTING OUT THAT THE DINNER IN QUESTION WAS MUCH MORE THAN A USUAL SOCIAL GATHERING.

11. US DEPREP PROTESTED THAT OUTSIDE OF PLENARY AND FORMAL DISCUSSIONS ANY NUMBER OF SOCIAL
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GATHERINGS NATURALLY TAKE PLACE AND SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED UNNATURAL.

12. ANINOIU AGREED BUT DREW THE LINE ON ORGANIZING SUCH GATHERINGS FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS, STRESSING THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATIONS BY WORKING OUTSIDE OF THE PRESENT AGREED UPON AND ADEQUATE FRAMEWORK.

13. US DEPREP STRESSED THAT SUCH SOCIAL GATHERINGS WERE NATURAL AND ABOVE THE BOARD, AND THAT THE ALLIES WOULD BE PERFECTLY WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS THAT MIGHT OCCUR AT SUCH GATHERINGS WITH ANY OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT LIMITATIONS ON SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

14. ANINOIU STATED IT WAS NOT THE DISCUSSIONS BUT THE FORMULA OR FRAMEWORK FOR THE DISCUSSIONS THAT HE OBJECTED TO. HE DID NOT OBJECT TO THE DESIRE AS STATED BY THE US DEPREP TO FIND A POINT OF COMMON GROUND, INDEED HE SUPPORTED THE NECESSITY OF FINDING SUCH A STARTING POINT, BUT WAS VERY STRONGLY OF THE OPINION THAT SUCH A POINT COULD AS EASILY BE FOUND WITHIN THAT SUCH A POINT COULD AS EASILY BE FOUND WITHIN THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK OFFERED BY THE NEGOTIATIONS. TO US DEPREP'S QUESTION OF EXACTLY WHAT HE HAD IN MIND ANINOIU ANSWERED THAT THE PLENARIES HAD AT PRESENT BECOME UNSATISFACTORY AND LITTLE MORE THAN A FORUM FOR UNILATERAL PRESENTATIONS. ANINOIU ASKED WHY HOWEVER, OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS COULD NOT BE DEVELOPED, WITHIN THE AGREED FRAMEWORK, TO CORRECT

THIS SITUATION.

15. US DEPREP STATED THAT THE IDEA OF OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS HAD BEEN CONSIDERED, BUT THAT APPARENTLY NO AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED AT PRESENT AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS TO DO SO. HE STATED THAT ROMANIA EVIDENTLY AGREED THAT THERE WAS A NEED FOR A FORUM FOR MORE INTENSE DISCUSSIONS AND THAT THE
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OBJECTION WAS TO INFORMAL DINNERS BEING USED AS THIS FORUM. ANINOIU AGREED AND EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE EFFECT OF SUCH GROUPS WAS TO EXCLUDE ROMANIA FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS.

16. US DEPREP OBJECTED TO THIS INTERPRETATION AND OFFERED TO ARRANGE A SERIES OF INFORMAL DINNERS WITH THE ROMANIANS OR TO FULLY BRIEF THEM ON ANY SUCH DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS, STRESSING AGAIN THAT THE DINNER IN QUESTION HAD HAD NO OFFICIAL STATUS. ANINOIU SAID THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSAR FOR THE US TO MAKE ANY SUCH CONCESSION, NOR DID ROMANIA WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH GATHERINGS; IT MERELY WISHED THAT THEY NOT TAKE PLACE. THE MATTER WAS A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE AGAINST THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SUCH A SYSTEM, NOT AN OBJECTION ON THE PART OF AN INDIVIDUAL DELEGATION TO BEING EXCLUDED FROM ANY ONE SUCH DISCUSSION. US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT NOTHING WAS BEING INSTITUTIONALIZED, THAT INDEED THERE WERE OBJECTIONS FROM SOME ALLIES TO TAKING ANY SUCH STEP.

17. ANINOIU REPORTED THAT HIS INFORMATION WAS THAT KHLESTOV, KLEIN AND STRULAK HAD REJECTED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL MADE AT THE FEBRUARY 6 DINNER. US REP AGREED THE EAST HAD APPEARED TO FIND DIFFICULTIES, BUT DID NOT APPEAR TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE LIMITED NATURE OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL. ANINOIU INTERPRETED THE WORD "LIMITED" AS ALSO REFERRING TO LIMITED PARTICIPATION. US REP DENIED ANY INTENT EITHER TO LIMIT PARTICIPATION OR TO SEEK CONCESSIONS FROM THE EAST ON MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE. THE ALLIED PROPOSAL WAS DESIGNED MERELY TO HELP START DISCUSSION ON THE ONE POINT OF COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE TWO PROPOSALS, I.E., US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES.

18. ANINOIU FORMALLY EXPRESSED "UNPLEASANT SURPRISE" AT THE US SUGGESTION AND WANTED THIS OFFICIAL DIS-SATISFACTION THOROUGHLY UNDERSTOOD BY THE US. HE CONSIDERED THE US SUGGESTION "UNUSUAL."

HE CONSIDERED SUCH A PROPOSAL SHOWED DISREGARD FOR THE
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AGREED FRAMEWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS AND WAS A
REFLECTION OF LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESENT
AGREED SYSTEM. HE FELT COMMON GROUND FOR DISCUSSION
COULD BE FOUND AND ADEQUATELY DEVELOPED WITHIN THE
NORMAL FRAMEWORK. THE US WAS PROPOSING A FORMALIZED
SYSTEM OF GATHERINGS OUTSIDE THIS AGREED FRAMEWORK.
FOR THE AMERICANS THE QUESTION OF BEING INCLUDED IN
SUCH GATHERINGS WAS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION, BUT FOR
ROMANIA THE SITUATION WAS MORE COMPLICATED. THEREFORE,
ANY SUCH FORMALIZATION OF GATHERINGS WOULD IN EFFECT
BE DIRECTED AGAINST THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION

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R 091048Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1551
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
USMISSION NATO
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. ANINOIU EXPRESSED FEARS OF FINDING HIS DELEGATION IN A POSITION OF NOT KNOWING WHAT WAS BEING DISCUSSED AT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

19. US REP WHO HAD JOINED THE DISCUSSION POINTED OUT THAT THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION HAD JUST BEEN BRIEFED BY THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ON THE CONTENT OF THE MEETING AND WAS IN NO SUCH DANGER. US REP WAS ALWAYS WILLING TO DISCUSS SAME SUBJECT MATTER WITH ROMANIAN REP. ANINOIU AGAIN STRESSED THAT HIS OBJECTION WAS NOT ONLY AGAINST MISSING SOME OF THE CONTENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT AGAINST THE UNDEMOCRATIC NATURE OF SUCH SMALL GATHERINGS. US REP POINTED OUT THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WOULD IN ANY CASE BE BRIEFED ON SUCH DISCUSSIONS. NOTHING WOULD
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BE HIDDEN.

20. ANINOIU SAID THAT HE OBJECTED TO HAVING TO WAIT TO BE TOLD, AND CONSIDERED SUCH A SITUATION AS AN ENCROACHMENT ON ROMANIA'S RIGHTS AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. AS A PREFERABLE SYSTEM, HE PROPOSED A SERIES OF "OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS" TO BE ATTENDED BY ALL "INTERESTED DELEGATIONS," WITH THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS TO ATTEND IF THEY DESIRED. SUCH A SYSTEM WOULD BE WITHIN THE AGREED FRAMEWORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHILE THE SYSTEM PROPOSED BY THE US WAS NOT.

21. US REP PROTESTED THAT ROMANIA FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE ONLY PURPOSE OF THE US PROCEDURAL SUGGESTION TO AGREE ON A SPECIFIC POINT FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION WAS TO HELP PRODUCE PROGRESS IN THE PLENARIES.

22. ANINOIU RAISED A FURTHER OBJECTION TO THE FACT THAT WHEN THE RUSSIAN DELEGATE IS INVITED TO AN INFORMAL GATHERING UNDER THE US PROPOSAL, IT IS THE RUSSIAN DELEGATE, NOT THE WESTERN HOST, WHO DETERMINES WHO IS TO BE INVITED FROM THE EAST.

23. ANINOIU SUGGESTED THAT THE PROPOSED US FORMULA WAS EVASIVE AND WAS MENT TO CONTAIN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITHIN A NEW AND RESTRICTED FRAMEWORK OF PARTICIPATION. ROMANIA WAS AGAINST "RECHRISTENING" THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS WAY. SUCH A BAPTISM WOULD RELEGATE THE PLENARIES TO RUBBER-STAMPING PROGRESS MADE ELSEWHERE. ANINOIU EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT THE US UNDERSTOOD ROMANIAN OBJECTIONS TO THE US PROPOSAL, AND THAT THE PRESENT FRIENDLY STATE OF US-ROMANIAN RELATIONS COULD NOT EXPLAIN AN AMERICAN INITIATIVE WHICH MIGHT DAMAGE

THE ACTIVITY AND PARTICIPATION OF THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION.

24. US REP ASSURED ANINOIU THAT THERE WAS NO INTENT TO DO DAMAGE, THAT ON THE CONTRARY THE PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL WOULD HELP IN THE LONG RUN, FEEDING INTO THE PLENARIES CONCRETE POINTS WHICH COULD BE DEVELOPED INTO FUTURE AGREEMENTS. THE PLENARIES REMAINED THE ONLY FORUM FOR FINALLY DECIDING AND APPROVING THE COURSE AND RESULT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

25. ANINOIU AGAIN STRESSED THAT THE MAIN ROMANINA OBJECTION WAS AGAINST INSTITUTIONALIZING A SYSTEM OF LIMITED INFORMAL SECRET

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GATHERINGS. US REP STRESSED THERE WOULD BE NO INSTITUTIONALIZATION, THAT INDEED THERE WERE OBJECTIONS AMONG THE ALLIES AGAINST ANY SUCH ACTION. ANINOIU AGAIN PROPOSED OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS, AND EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT US REP'S COMMENT THAT THERE WERE OBJECTIONS TO THEM AMONG THE DELEGATIONS. HE, HIMSELF, HAD NOT HEARD ANY.

26. US REP REPEATED ALLIES WERE NOT OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS, BUT THAT NOW WAS NOT THE TIME FOR THEM. EVEN WORKING GROUPS HAD TO BE FED SOME POINT OF COMMON GROUND TO DEVELOP. LATER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WORKING GROUPS MIGHT PROVE VERY USEFUL.

27. ANINOIU AGAIN EXPRESSED HIS "TOTALLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE" TOWARDS THE ALLIED PROPOSAL. HE FELT PRESENT FRAMEWORK PROVIDED AMPLE FACILITIES TO REACH THE SAME OBJECTIVE. THE STRONGEST ROMANIAN OBJECTION WAS AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF CREATING A SYSTEM OUTSIDE THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK. THE US SHOULD REALIZE THERE WERE ALSO OBJECTIONS FROM SOME OF THE WESTERN ALLIIS TO THE NEW PROPOSAL. HE BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE CONSIDEREABLE DIFFICULTIES FROM THIS SOURCE.

28. US REP EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROMANIAN OBJECTIONS AND SAID HE WOULD REFLECT ON THEM FURTHER, BUT STATED HIS STRONG BELIEF IN THE MERITS OF THE ALLIES PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL. THE PROPOSAL WOULD NOT HARM ROMANIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND HE HOPED THIS WOULD BECOME CLEAR IN TIME. HUMES

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